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THE FUTURE
OF THE
DOMINION OF CANADA.

A PAPER READ BY

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THE FUTURE OF THE DOMINION OF CANADA.

IN selecting as the subject of this paper the Future of the Dominion of Canada, I have no intention of discussing possible changes in its Constitution, or in its political relations to Great Britain. Those points have lately formed the subject of two articles in the *Contemporary Review* by Mr. Anderson and Mr. Clarke, and may be safely left to the judgment of their readers. My object is to place before you the present condition of the Canadian Dominion in its material aspects, and to direct your attention to that future upon which it is now entering. It may be necessary in the course of my remarks to refer to some of the statements and opinions in the articles referred to, but it is not my desire to speculate upon eventualities and changes that may be very distant, but rather to accept the relations which now happily exist, under the admirable Constitution established at the Confederation of British North America, and to point out the benefits that must arise, both to Great Britain and Canada, by steadily pursuing and extending that career of progress and usefulness upon which England's greatest Colony has now entered.

I shall not detain you by reference to remote historical events, but will briefly recapitulate the order, in point of time, when the several Provinces became united in the present Confederation—their condition at the date of the complete union—the position in which they now stand—and then refer to the hopes and aspirations with which they regard the future.

By the Queen's Proclamation the two Provinces of Old Canada, now designated Ontario and Quebec, were, on the 1st July, 1867, united with Nova Scotia and New Brunswick under the name of the Dominion of Canada. On the 15th July, 1870, the vast territories in the occupation of the Hudson's Bay Company were incorporated with the Dominion, which extinguished the title of the Company by a considerable payment, and assumed the former Imperial responsibilities attendant on the management and control of the numerous Indian tribes of the interior. On the 20th

July, 1871, British Columbia entered the Confederation ; and on the 1st July, 1873, Prince Edward's Island joined her sister Provinces, thus finally completing the consolidation under one Federal Parliament and Government of the entire British Possessions in North America, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, with the single exception of the Island of Newfoundland, which thus far has maintained its separate political existence.

Only seven years have, therefore, elapsed since the Dominion of Canada became territorially complete ; and I think we may prudently await the events of the next few years before proposing any serious changes in its organisation or constitutional status. It may be very safely asserted that the statesmen of Canada are more likely to judge wisely of the steps required for the progress and civilisation of this vast domain than even those of the mother country ; while it is certain that all the ability and zeal the former may possess can be more profitably devoted to their own land, rather than expended upon other and less familiar portions of the Empire.

It may not, in this connection, be inappropriate briefly to notice the powers granted to the people of Canada, and the system under which these powers are exercised. By the Imperial Act constituting the confederation, the complete control of everything pertaining to their internal affairs is conferred upon the people, subject only to their allegiance to a common Sovereign and their duty as members of the British Empire. These powers are exercised under the Federal system, by which the United Parliament, consisting of the Governor-General as the representative of the Queen, with the Senate and House of Commons, enact all the laws, in which the public at large may be said to have a common interest ; such as Trade and Commerce, Navigation, Fisheries, Indirect and Direct Taxation, Postage, Criminal Law, and the establishment of suitable government for the vast and as yet comparatively little known regions of the interior. The members of the House of Commons are elected under a most liberal franchise by ballot, and the Government of the day continues in office, as in this country, by the possession of the confidence of the House of Commons.

While the Federal Parliament is, in fact, the supreme authority on all subjects of common or extra-provincial interest, Local Legislatures exist in each Province under a Lieutenant-Governor, appointed by the Federal Government, with Legislative Councils and Legislative Assemblies elected by the people, to whom is entrusted all legislation of a purely local and Provincial character. These powers are of a very extensive nature, embracing all civil rights of property and cognate subjects, respecting which I may pause for a moment to explain, that apart from its propriety in other respects, the cession of Quebec by France secured to that Province its existing civil laws and language ; and though

full power exists to change or modify these laws in Quebec itself, still their preservation became a necessary condition of Confederation.

Anterior to Confederation, and now subsisting under past legislation, both Ontario and Quebec, especially the former, possessed an extremely perfect system of Municipal Government, which is being rapidly extended to the other Provinces. While in regard to education, no part of the world can boast a more perfect system, beginning with elementary or common-school education, which is free to all, continued next by grammar schools at a minimum of cost, to colleges, and ultimately universities, conducted by men of European reputation in science and letters.

In all, therefore, that relates to political freedom and self-government Canada has nothing to envy in the condition of any other country; while in fitting her people for the wise administration of those powers, she possesses in her educational and municipal systems, advantages that can be surpassed nowhere.

In the composition of her existing population, Canada is also peculiarly favoured. Commencing as a French colony, Quebec has now over a million of the descendants of the foremost nation of the Latin race—a people distinguished, like their ancestors, for industry and thrift, combined with a natural courtesy and bon-homme which endear them to all. If the French Canadian is not, perhaps, quite on a par with his Anglo-Saxon brother in enterprise, he is certainly more than his equal in those amenities which beautify life and cast a charm over even the hardships of the backwoods; while in devotion to his country, and loyalty to the Sovereign under whom his condition has risen from serfdom to freedom, none can excel him.

In the rest of the Dominion the population is almost exclusively English, Irish, and Scotch, though in the western prairies we have now settlements from Russia, Norway and Sweden, Iceland, and notably of Germans. In this respect but little difference exists between Canada and the United States, both being alike in progress of settlement from the same sources. The very difficulties attendant on overcoming the forces of the wilderness naturally impart great energy and courage to such a population, and bring about those wonderful results of successful progress which excite the envy and admiration of the world. Perhaps I should with proper modesty confine this last remark to the United States, but really the conditions are the same in both countries, and if they do not, as yet, show equally striking results in Canada, it arises from the fact that the resources of the latter country have only been brought under one central government within less than ten years, while in the former case one hundred years of united effort have been expended.

Prior to Confederation, the British Provinces in North America were suffering from the absence of all combined action; their

trade was hampered by numerous tariffs; their intercourse more or less restricted by provincial jealousies. They were taught to look more to the mother country and less to their own exertions than they should have done; their mental, and even their material, growth was dwarfed by a sense of Colonial dependence. Now, they have assumed most, if not all, of the attributes of national existence. Not one shilling has the British taxpayer disbursed on account of Canada for many years past; and even the military forces of the Empire, which are usually the symbol of power, have been wholly withdrawn since Confederation, while the defence of that vast country, with the preservation of law and order, not only in its civilised districts, but in the remote recesses of the interior still occupied by the native tribes, is entirely committed to the care of the people of Canada.

England has thus, by wise and timely concessions of liberal self-government, gradually educated her Colonial offspring to a state of such stability, that she has felt she could safely commit to their care the guardianship not only of her own interests, but the higher and nobler cause of civilization and progress in the whole of that vast territory conquered by the genius and prowess of her sons.

Let me now very briefly endeavour to convey to you some partial idea of the magnitude of the trust that has been assumed by Canadians in undertaking the colonization and Government of the northern half of the continent of North America.

Picture to yourselves a domain nearly as large as Europe, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, with its southern extremity in the same latitude as the south of France, and its northern boundary along the shores of the Arctic Ocean. Possessing the finest forests in the world, widely spread coal-fields, most extensive and productive fisheries, watered by the most remarkable natural distribution of lakes and rivers, enriched with all varieties of minerals, and now known to possess an enormous area of fertile prairie-lands destined to become the future granary of England, this vast country reaches, as the crow flies, from ocean to ocean, four thousand miles, with an area south of the latitude of St. Petersburg of at least two million of square miles capable of cultivation, and of which fully one-half produces every crop grown in Great Britain.

The Dominion of Canada, thus roughly sketched, is naturally divided into three great divisions: the Atlantic, the Central, and the Pacific.

The Atlantic division is that which comprehends the older settled Provinces of Nova Scotia, Prince Edward's Island, New Brunswick, Quebec, and Ontario. It contains almost the entire present population of the Dominion, about four millions, and has, until very recently, been the only part of the British possessions in North America to which emigration has been directed. It may be described as the forest section of Canada, and stretches from the

Atlantic to the head waters of the great river St. Lawrence, west of Lake Superior.

The Central, or prairie division, containing the new Province of Manitoba, extends from the densely-wooded Atlantic region to the Rocky Mountains. Commencing with the valley of the Red River, of unsurpassed fertility, the prairie extends westward over a gently undulating country, clothed with the most luxuriant grasses and beautiful flora, for a distance of a thousand miles to the base of the Rocky Mountains, by a varying width of from four hundred to six hundred miles. This magnificent district, watered and rendered accessible in its eastern section by the great Winnipeg and Manitoba lakes, is in its central and western portion traversed by the mighty river Saskatchewan, with fifteen hundred miles of steamboat navigation, and fertilised by many beautiful tributaries issuing from the recesses of the mountains. With some comparatively insignificant exceptions the prairie division of the Dominion contains probably the largest continuous tract of country in the world adapted to the growth of wheat and other cereals, and peculiarly fitted also for cattle-raising, especially on the western plateau, where cool and abundant water is combined with an exceptionally moderate climate.

The Pacific section, known as British Columbia, comprehends the volcanic region west of the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean, with the magnificent island of Vancouver. Possessed of a climate much more temperate than that of Canada proper, British Columbia has an immense extent of land fitted for agriculture, while the mountain ranges which traverse the country are replete with minerals of every variety, and are no doubt quite as rich as the similar districts of California and New Mexico. Gold to the value of eight millions sterling has already been extracted from the gravel washing alone, without the introduction of scientific mining. Vancouver's Island has, so far as known, exclusive monopoly of the coal supply of the entire Pacific coast, from Behring's Straits to Cape Horn; her coalfields are inexhaustible in extent and excellent in quality, and in the future must make this island the emporium of the China and Indian trade, while its importance in connection with the naval supremacy of England in the Pacific Ocean can scarcely be exaggerated.

I will now shortly summarise the past progress of the Provinces included in the Atlantic division of Canada. Commencing in 1825 with a population of about 837,400, they have now attained at least four millions in number. Their revenues, which were then perfectly insignificant, were last year nearly five millions sterling, besides the large local receipts of the respective Provinces.

Their trade, notwithstanding it has been seriously curtailed by the universal depression, amounted in

Imports to	-	-	-	£17,500,000
Exports „	-	-	-	£18,000,000

in addition to the extensive interchange of products between the several Provinces. Their sea-going tonnage registered and owned in the Dominion itself, independent of tonnage registered in Great Britain, but owned in Canada, amounted in 1879 to 1,332,094 tons. The fisheries along their coasts yielded nearly three millions sterling, and with their shipping gave employment to a seafaring population of men and boys, including Newfoundland, exceeding forty thousand, a number greater, it is believed, than is possessed by any other country in the world except Great Britain herself. Their defence by land is entrusted to forty thousand Active Militia, in a fair state of preparation, and officered from one Military College and six Infantry Schools, while under the Militia Law every able-bodied man is liable to serve when called upon.

The Atlantic coast of the Dominion is nearly twice as extensive as that of the British Islands, and all its important headlands and harbours are efficiently supplied with lighthouse service.

The whole country is provided with a well-organised municipal system, and, as I have already stated, education of the most thorough description extends throughout the length and breadth of the land. Religious liberty and equality prevail everywhere; and in the case of Quebec, the feudal system, which descended from the French, has been peacefully and thoroughly abolished.

The statement I now make respecting the present position of Canada would, however, be incomplete if reference were omitted to its Public Debt. And in this connection I may be permitted to notice and correct certain allegations in the article contributed by Mr. Anderson to the *Contemporary Review*, which are calculated to lead to the belief that in some form or other Canada has failed in her obligations to the Imperial Exchequer. On this point it may be sufficient to state that no engagement either of the Dominion, or of any of the Provinces, has ever been in arrear for one day; nor has the Imperial Exchequer ever advanced one shilling on account of such engagements. They have consisted in guarantees granted by the Imperial Government for various objects in which an Imperial interest was admitted to exist; but in no case has delay, nor even extension of time, ever been asked by Canada, much less has the British taxpayer ever been required to contribute to the payment of either principal or interest. The first guarantee of three millions sterling was paid in full many years ago, and the others, still current, amounting in all to £4,800,000, are in course of liquidation by the Sinking Funds of which Imperial officers are the trustees.

The whole Debt of Canada, at 30th June last—and it has not since been increased—amounted to forty millions sterling, diminished by Sinking Funds and other assets to thirty-two millions, or equal to £8 per head, bearing an average rate of 4·51 per cent. Compared with the Revenue, it represents six and one half years' purchase, and the interest constitutes about one-fourth of the annual income of the country.

The debt is not, however, as is the case in every other country, excepting always the various British Colonies, the melancholy record of blood and treasure squandered in foreign or intestine wars; but, on the other hand, registers the peaceful progress of a people conscious of the vast resources of their country, and earnestly devoting themselves to its development. Canada has spent

On her magnificent Canal system -	£7,500,000
On her Railways -	12,500,000
On Lighthouses and Navigation	1,000,000
On the acquisition and development, thus far, of the Great North West -	4,000,000
Government Buildings and Miscellaneous -	2,000,000
Assumption of Provincial Debts -	4,000,000

£31,000,000

Her annual Revenue in like manner is employed usefully and for the benefit of the people. In 1879

The Interest (Sinking Funds and Charges) on the Debt absorbed -	about £1,700,000
The Government Legislation and Judiciary -	630,000
The Subsidies to the Local Governments in lieu of the Revenues assigned by them to the Dominion -	700,000
The Postal Service -	360,000
Public Works and Navigation -	930,000
Militia and Defence -	200,000
Indian Service—connected with the Native Tribes -	170,000
Miscellaneous -	200,000

£4,890,000

Permit me, now, to give you what must necessarily be a very imperfect sketch of the work already achieved, and to show you the persistent and determined efforts your fellow subjects in Canada have made and are making towards the development of that great country. I will first speak of our canal system, of which a statement of expenditure conveys but a very inadequate idea. The object contemplated by this outlay has been the perfection of the navigation of the river St. Lawrence to the farthest extremity of the Great Lakes, overcoming the obstructions offered by the Rapids and the Falls of Niagara, so as to permit large vessels to be employed direct from Chicago and Lake Superior to the ocean. These works consist, first, of the deepening of the channel

between Quebec and Montreal from eleven feet six inches to twenty-two feet, and ultimately to twenty-five feet, whereby steamships of four thousand tons can now proceed one hundred and eighty miles above Quebec to the quays of Montreal. At Montreal the Canal system commences to overcome the several Rapids, and consists of in all forty-one miles, with locks two hundred feet long by forty-five feet wide, and passing vessels drawing ten feet of water. Lake Ontario is then reached; and to surmount the Falls of Niagara, the Welland Canal has been built, twenty-eight miles, having at present locks one hundred and fifty by twenty-six feet, with ten feet of water. These canals being insufficient, new works were commenced five years ago, and will be probably completed within two years, whereby a uniform enlargement of the whole system will be established to locks two hundred and seventy by forty-five feet, with a depth of fourteen feet, allowing the passage from Lake Erie to the ocean, *viâ* Montreal, of vessels of one thousand five hundred tons. From Lake Erie westward to Chicago the navigation is uninterrupted through Lakes Huron and Michigan; while to Lake Superior access is had by an American canal of one and a half miles in length, of similar capacity to the Canadian system. Thus, within two years, propellers of one thousand five hundred tons, laden with the produce of the Western States and Canada, will be able to proceed to tide-water *viâ* the St. Lawrence from any port on the Great Lakes, and by the Canadian Pacific Railway, to be opened next year, Winnipeg, the capital of Manitoba, with the fertile valley of the Red River, will be brought within four hundred miles of this magnificent water-route.

In addition to these grand works, Canada has constructed a canal to connect the St. Lawrence with Lake Champlain and the Hudson river to New York; and also two large canals for the improvement of the Ottawa river in connection with the vast lumber trade of that region.

Passing next to the railway system of the Dominion, it permeates the older Provinces from Halifax to Lake Huron, and with its ramifications covers nearly 7000 miles in length. Of this mileage about 1250 is the property of the Government, and operated by them; for the remainder, though largely aided by public grants, Canada gratefully acknowledges her debt to British capital and enterprise. Any notice of the progress of the Dominion would certainly be incomplete which omitted reference to the Grand Trunk and Great Western Railways; the former especially, which is not merely the arterial line in connection with the Government roads from Halifax to Detroit, but now, through the energy of its management, has conferred on Canadian trade the inestimable advantage of a through railway from Chicago and the great Prairie States to Montreal, our principal shipping port. Long enduring has been the faith of those who invested their capital in

the Grand Trunk Railway ; and from my own early connection with it no one can rejoice more truly than myself in the unmistakable signs that it is now emerging from the depth of depression in which it was so long sunk. The progress of Canada in the continued settlement of the older Provinces, and in the speedy colonisation of her own Great West, cannot fail to make the future of all Canadian Railways, and especially of the Grand Trunk, one of great and early development.

But while speaking of the present railway system, it would be unpardonable in me were I to omit mention of the Canadian Pacific Railway, upon which the hopes and fortunes of the country so largely depend. I shall not detain you by lengthened reference to the ultimate grand results expected from this undertaking ; ten years are allotted for its completion throughout, and before that time arrives I feel assured some other speaker before this Institute will find occasion to point out the widening sphere of the future usefulness of Canada, and to dwell on the advantages to Great Britain of this new route to her Eastern possession through a country inhabited by her own people, and governed by her own laws. I shall now confine myself simply to the main features of the enterprise to which Canada has committed herself. A subsidy in work already undertaken and in cash of about eleven millions sterling, and a land grant of twenty-five million acres of most excellent prairie land, may testify to the public importance of the Canadian Pacific Railway. In length, when complete, it will be 2,600 miles ; of this 260 are now in operation, 500 additional will be finished in a year, and the Government are assured that within four years from this day the communication by water and rail will be complete through Canada from England to the Rocky Mountains, opening up about one thousand miles in length of the North-Western prairies, and, with branch lines and the river navigation, practically bringing the whole district for 400 miles in width within the reach and occupation of civilised man.

Already, though Winnipeg has only had railway communication with the United States for less than two years, it has sprang from a population of a few hundreds to upwards of ten thousand. Manitoba, without roads, without capital, and in spite of every possible misrepresentation as to its climate, has gone forward by "leaps and bounds," within the last four years, and now counts its 75,000 inhabitants. Settlers, eager to press on to even more favoured regions, are now dotting the trail across the prairie with their farms in every direction. Villages are springing up many hundreds of miles west of Winnipeg ; churches are being built ; mills to grind the future crop are having their steam-engines wearily dragged across the plains. Even at the very base of the Rocky Mountains, herds of cattle are now being raised on the rich pastures of the affluents of the Saskatchewan, for which a

market is to be found in the advancing tide of settlement. From one end of the country to the other there is the evident commencement of one of those great movements of population that have from time to time signalised the progress of the American continent.

The gigantic efforts now being made to further the colonization of the Canadian Far West are promoted and seconded by the wise and liberal public policy in respect to the land. By Act of the Dominion Parliament, one-fourth of the whole public domain in the North-West Territories is devoted absolutely to free grants to actual settlers, another fourth is held at their option for three years at one-half the Government selling price, and the remaining one-half is to be sold at prices varying from 4s. to £1 per acre to reimburse the cost of the Canadian Pacific Railway. When it is remembered that the district thus being opened up exceeds in area 250,000,000 of acres, it will be seen that the free grant lands alone are nearly twice as extensive as the whole of England.

Let me pause for one moment to answer the objection that I have seen occasionally urged against the policy England has pursued in transferring her territorial rights to her Colonial subjects. This very territory that I have endeavoured most inadequately to describe was for upwards of two hundred years within the jurisdiction of England herself, and has only been made over to Canada within ten short years. Admitting that its capabilities were then unknown, Canada can at least claim the credit of diffusing this knowledge; but if this be denied her, let me ask whether English taxpayers would ever have consented to do what Canadians are cheerfully undertaking? What Chancellor of the Exchequer would have ventured to propose a vote of 11,000,000 sterling for a railway to open up such a remote country? What English Government would for years have sustained the burden of introducing government and law and order? And even in the case of the Indian tribes, what statesman would have been bold enough to tell the people of England that for years to come they must provide £200,000 a year to save these wretched natives from starvation? Yet all this, and far more, has been done by Canadian statesmen, and cheerfully acquiesced in by the Canadian people, while one-fourth of the whole domain, acquired and developed at the sole charge of the Canadian taxpayer, is now offered free to all their English brethren who choose to come.

Nor must I confine myself to these records of successful progress. Already Canada is among the first of the great carriers of the world; her ships are found in every sea, from every frequented seaport they bear the produce of other lands to market. Her trade is no longer with England and the United States alone, but extends to the East, to Australia, the West Indies, and South America. Within the present year a steamship line, jointly subsidized by Brazil and Canada, will open the markets of that vast

Empire to the products of Canadian industry. Similar arrangements, it is confidently expected, will result from negotiations now in progress with Spain for trade with the Spanish West Indies. And if further evidence be asked of the growing importance of the Dominion, it will be found in the fact that both the late and present Governments of England have recognised the propriety of making exceptional arrangements in future Treaties of Commerce with foreign countries for the Colonies; and in the negotiations now proceeding with France and Spain, the interests of Canada will be watched over by her own representative and determined by her own Government.

Such, in brief, is the position of Canada to-day, and such the population and resources with which she is about to address herself to the stupendous task of colonising the whole interior of North America lying north of the United States and stretching for upwards of 2000 miles from Lake Superior to the Pacific Ocean. May I be forgiven if, with such a task before us, I think it unwise to discuss the future of the Canadian Dominion with reference to possibilities that may never arise? Mr. William Clarke, in the article referred to, belittles the present position of the country. He alleges it has no national life, is entirely provincial, and assumes a state of discontented feeling with their present status, which my acquaintance with public sentiment there enables me absolutely to deny. He assumes that the 'present relations of England and Canada are essentially transient, and cannot be maintained beyond a few more years;' and upon this assumption Mr. Clarke proceeds to argue that Canada must accept one of three alternatives—Independence, Imperial Federation, or annexation to the United States; and of the three he comes to the conclusion that the last is the best.

What may be the destiny of Canada ultimately, and even what may be that of the United States themselves, no one can foretell. We have certainly seen the great Union on the very verge of dissolution within the last twenty years, and, though, with enormous sacrifices of blood and treasure, its unity was preserved, it would be rash to allege that its varied interests, spread over a country as large as Europe, can always be maintained in harmony. Equally must it be admitted that as Canada increases in population and wealth, her interests may diverge from those of the mother country so as to produce separation. But this is not the case to-day, and, on the contrary, I trust to be able to show that the interests of Canada are at this moment most intimately blended with those of Great Britain, and that the maintenance of the connection may with sagacious statesmanship be fraught with the greatest benefits to both countries.

Many writers are inclined to depreciate the condition of Canada, and marvel over the superior progress and energy of the United States as likely to form an irresistible attraction for us.

Suffer me to examine this position for a few moments. First, taking contentment as the best general standard for comparison, I venture to assert that the Canadians are fully as well satisfied with their condition as their Republican neighbours. Our attachment to our Sovereign and to our institutions is quite as great as theirs; under our system of Parliamentary Government, copied from that of England, the people possess a much more direct control over their Executive than do the United States; our taxation in every respect is very greatly less. It is true emigration to Canada is much less in actual numbers than to the United States, but in proportion to population it is relatively greater. Again: the prairie lands of the Union have been accessible since 1830—fifty years ago; they have been opened up in every direction by railways, and have thus attracted hundreds of thousands of English and foreign emigrants, who shrank from the hardships of life in the forest. Our prairie Provinces have only had birth within six years; they have been accessible by railway for less than two years; and the measures are only now being taken to inform the over-crowded people of Great Britain and of the Continent of the great country that holds out its arms to receive them.

I must apologise for what you may deem a digression, but I wish you to understand that Canadians are not disposed to expend vain envy upon their neighbours. We all recognise the greatness of the United States, their wonderful rapidity of progress, their many estimable qualities as citizens; but we are unwilling to admit that we are so greatly their inferiors, and instead of wishing to sink our individuality in theirs, we rather desire to show that under British institutions that part of the continent consigned to our charge can be made to rival them in every respect. We now wield the combined resources of all the formerly disunited elements of British power. We have now discovered that we possess natural resources as great as theirs; our determination to use them is equal; and Canada asks nothing from England that cannot be shown to be unmistakably for her own interest.

And what, it may now be asked, is the true interest of Great Britain in the future of her greatest Colony? Is it not true that, while portions of the same Empire, all that belongs to Canada belongs equally to England—the vast forests, the boundless fertile prairies, the mineral wealth of Canada? Are they not the common heritage of every British subject—differently administered, but yet the same? Has England no interest in the prolific fisheries on the coasts of her American possessions, and should she not feel how largely her naval strength may be augmented from the thousands of hardy fishermen who earn a precarious livelihood on the stormy shores of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia? Should she not desire to share in establishing a new route to India, Australia, and China through her own possessions, free from all risk of interruption by foreign hostilities? I might answer one

and all of these questions affirmatively, by saying that her interest is truly an Imperial one ; that by the possession and speedy development of Canada England most surely maintains her power, and widens and strengthens her influence. But in these days Imperialism is at a discount ; strangely enough, I find in many quarters that the material interests of the mother country are supposed to be more connected with foreign nations than with her own colonies ; and I must try to find within the admitted necessities of Great Britain and Ireland some reason which shall supply an adequate motive for her aiding Canada in the great work that has been devolved upon her by British statesmen.

The reason is to be found in the over-population of the United Kingdom, and in the absolute necessity of providing against the evils—ever increasing, and daily becoming more threatening—which are traceable to this cause. Emigration, continuous, progressive and systematic, is the only certain remedy, and forms, at the same time, the only boon Canada asks from the mother country. Rarely, indeed, can any remedial measure be applied which does not involve some painful sacrifices on one side, or perhaps on both ; but here the blessing will rest both with the giver and the receiver.

The history of emigration from Great Britain and Ireland is most interesting and instructive. It has been wholly voluntary, and shows the readiness with which the mass of the people resort to it, either as an escape from suffering at home, or in consequence of those qualities which seem naturally to have made this country the great centre from whence the uninhabited portions of the earth are being colonised.

Between the termination of the great European war in 1815 and the close of 1852 no less than 3,463,592 persons left our ports as emigrants. But as the nationalities were not then distinguished, I think it may be safely assumed that upwards of 3,000,000 were British subjects. From 1853 to 1879, inclusive, a further emigration, of British origin only, took place, amounting to 4,335,889. Of these vast numbers a certain proportion returned, especially during 1876-9, and probably reduced the nett result to about 4,000,000.

We thus have, since 1815, a total removal of population from the British Islands to other countries of the enormous number of seven millions, distributed very nearly in the following manner :

United States	-	-	-	4,400,000
British North America	-	-	-	1,350,000
Australia	-	-	-	1,200,000
Elsewhere	-	-	-	50,000
				7,000,000

The official returns to which I am indebted for these figures

show the singular circumstance that until 1841 the actual emigration to British North America was absolutely larger year by year than to the United States. After 1841 two causes operated to turn the flow of emigration more largely to the United States: the first was the condition of Ireland up to and succeeding the famine, the other was the contemporaneous opening up of the vast prairie States of the Union, which begun to attract general notice after 1840.

The latter cause was, I think, much the more important, and to it, I believe, the United States are indebted for the rapid strides they have made in population and wealth, and the great attraction they have offered to the emigrating class of the United Kingdom, of Germany, and of Scandinavia. If I am correct in this view, the Dominion of Canada may well look forward with great confidence to the effect to be produced by the speedy opening up of the North-West Territory—a district probably quite as extensive as the prairie region of the Union, and certainly as well fitted for the maintenance of a large population. The resources of the Dominion may be wisely and profitably devoted to the Pacific Railway, and other works opening up their distant lands, when we have before us the vast results achieved within the last forty years under circumstances precisely similar. The most available lands of Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Missouri, and Wisconsin are now largely occupied; Iowa and Minnesota are also rapidly filling; and I do not see in the United States to-day any district that for extent, fertility, and availability for settlement can compare with the North-West of the Dominion. My conviction therefore is, that the tide of emigration which turned so strongly after 1840 to the United States, will soon resume its former direction to British North America, as, other material advantages being equal, I cannot think a British subject would prefer a Republican form of Government to that happy blending of freedom and law which he can enjoy under his own flag.

I have already stated the emigration to have reached seven millions, of which at least four millions have left the United Kingdom since 1852. It will probably interest you to know that, notwithstanding this immense outflow, the reproductive powers of the population have more than supplied the gap. In 1853 the population of Great Britain and Ireland was - 27,542,588
In 1879 - 34,156,113

Increase - 6,613,525

Considering this enormous increase of the resident population, coincidently with an emigration of 4,000,000 since 1852, it will scarcely, I think, be disputed that no more important question can permanently occupy attention here, than the best mode of systematising and directing the outflow of the people. Had these four millions remained at home, it is probable that the

position of affairs here would have been much more critical, and might have been even seriously dangerous. As an illustration of this, I will refer to the state of Ireland, as connected with emigration.

From 1861 to 1870 it averaged 81,858

1871 „ 1875 „ 65,893

1876 „ 1879 „ 29,898

It does not appear an unwarranted deduction to assume that the comparative cessation of emigration has intensified the evils in that country, which evidence clearly shows, in the West at least, to be traceable to over-population. When we plainly see that congestion of population has attended the stoppage of emigration, it appears to me that the simplest and most speedy cure will in many districts be found in the systematic encouragement of voluntary emigration. I use the term "voluntary" because it is the only principle upon which any Government could act; and past experience abundantly proves that when the knowledge is brought home to even the most ignorant class that a happier fate awaits them across the ocean, and the means placed within their reach of getting there, no difficulty is raised by them.

While speaking of Ireland and the Irish, I may say, with much satisfaction, that in Canada we have never experienced any serious difficulty in dealing with them. Whatever may have been their lot or their failings at home, they find in Canada the most fair and equal treatment in every respect, and in return they love and support their new country and its institutions. Their religion is respected; its clergy rank as high as any other; they are honoured and looked up to by their communicants; and I venture to allege that, man for man, the Irish in Canada are better off, and are better citizens, than their compatriots in the United States.

It is shown by official returns that since 1815 no less than 7,000,000 persons have emigrated, of whom only 2,550,000 have gone to the Colonies, while 4,400,000 have for ever abandoned their allegiance and become citizens of a foreign country. I think this is a most deplorable statement, and becomes the worse if we regard them in the light of helpers of their former fellow subjects at home. Were the question only that of relieving the congestion of population in the United Kingdom, it would certainly be immaterial where the emigrant went, provided he went at all. But beyond this point arises the most important inquiry of: how can the exodus be made serviceable to the mother country in other respects? to which the reply is manifest: as consumers of the products of British labour at home. I might instance the Australian Colonies, which offer an infinitely stronger illustration, but as I may be told that their distance forbids their being chosen by the mass of poorer emigrants, I will take Canada and the United States, whose conditions are in many respects equal as fields for emigration;

and it will be seen by the Board of Trade returns that on an average of the last three years, notwithstanding the recovery of prosperity was more early, every person, and therefore every emigrant, in the United States has consumed only 8s. 6d. worth of British manufactures, while in Canada he has consumed 32s.; it is therefore in the interest of British labour at home, in the proportion of 32 to 8, that emigration should go to Canada rather than to the United States.

I cannot leave this question of the material value of the Colonies as consumers of British products without offering for your consideration certain figures which I have collated from the Board of Trade Returns, and which appear to me eminently suggestive. Comparatively little is said about the importance of the trade with our own possessions, and yet these returns prove that the United Kingdom exported more goods to her own possessions in 1880 than to France, Germany, Russia, Holland, Belgium, Spain, Portugal, Italy, and Denmark—in fact, to all Continental Europe combined. The figures are as classified in the December returns :

British Possessions	- - - - -	£50,367,000
United Europe	- - - - -	45,180,801

Surely these figures point significantly to the direction Imperial trade policy should take, and to the material advantages that must flow to England herself by the speediest development of her foreign empire. Especially is this the case when we perceive how year by year this country is becoming more dependent upon other nations for food. The food must be had, and must be had cheaply, and therefore the more rapidly the resources of the Colonies generally, and Canada especially, can be developed, the better it must be for England.

The commercial classes are, I observe, pressing upon the Government the necessity of making Treaties of Commerce with foreign nations, and I sometimes wonder why they never urge them to make commercial conventions with their own Colonies. In the latter case they content themselves with complaining of the Colonial tariffs as not favouring the mother country; but they are probably not aware that under existing treaties the British Possessions are explicitly debarred from admitting British goods on better terms than foreign. It is almost amusing to see the precautions which have been taken by your own negotiators to prevent the Colonies extending the slightest favour or discrimination to England. I do not hesitate to say that the Colonies generally would be only too happy to give British labour exceptional favour in their markets; but unfortunately England has nothing to offer in return. Still, it does seem most absurd that if Free Trade cannot be had with all the world, the effort should not be made to have as near an approach to it as possible within

the limits of the British Empire. Much might be done in this direction, greatly, I believe, to the benefit of all; but some antecedent conditions must be complied with, and of these the most important is to afford proof that the Empire can furnish its own food. This problem we shall speedily solve through the settlement of the Dominion.

The conquest of countries already occupied, and civilised we can readily understand may be undertaken from motives of ambition and lust of power; but it seems self-evident that the occupation of regions of enormous extent, roamed over by a few scattered tribes, must be a most uncalled-for and irrational policy, unless the principle be admitted and acted upon that the citizens of the occupying nation are intended to colonise and people them. Without such motives, and unless it be clearly seen that the interests of the mother country are to be served by such emigration, it is plain that all Colonies are a mistake, and for England not to take this position is practically to say that her whole past policy in appropriating so large a portion of the earth's surface has been a gigantic error. Her past career is absolutely indefensible, unless she is prepared to allege that she became the greatest colonising nation the world has ever seen, because she saw that the transfer of her citizens to new lands to be civilised and governed by her laws, was the wisest course, as well for those who went as for those who stayed at home. Is it conceivable that any nation, which has with such infinite labour, watchfulness and care succeeded in planting her own people in almost all the most productive regions of the globe, shall, at the very moment when their condition of development promises the fruition of generations of preparation and effort, be prepared calmly to admit that she knows not how to utilise the resources so hardly won, and now at length seen to be so abundant?

I allege that to have acquired Colonies, and not to proceed resolutely in peopling them, is the most contradictory policy any nation can pursue. What shall we say, then, of Great Britain, overflowing with population, and having possessions in every portion of the world, and yet viewing with perfect indifference the transfer of millions of her subjects to foreign lands? I would not complain, if it could be truly said that in any one particular the condition of the emigrant would be better under a foreign flag; but this is not so. I speak now not of Canada alone, but of her sister Colonies as well, when I affirm that within the limits of the British Empire everything required by civilised man can be produced as well as in the whole of the rest of the world; while, if facility of access be taken into account, Canada stands on more than an equal footing with her great rival, the United States.

During the last fifty years, the policy of each successive Government has been to give their sole attention to proper provision for the departure of the emigrant. No influence has ever been

attempted to be exercised upon him in regard to his destination, and we see the result in the fact that nearly four and a half millions have gone to the United States, while only two and a half have reached the British Possessions.

It may not have been possible in the past to have prevented the outflow of people to the United States, attracted as they were by the wonderful accounts they received of the advantages offered by the Prairie States. But this is all changed now. Canada offers the struggling poor of this country advantages fully equal to those ever dreamt of in any foreign country. She offers them free farms of fertile prairie soil for nothing; she is now constructing railways to open up the entire country to the Pacific Ocean; she offers the protection of law to all advances that may be made to settle poor emigrant families; she gives them free schools, religious liberty and equality, good laws, and good government.

Is it, then, too much to ask that the policy of this country should be changed?—that both the Executive and the people of the United Kingdom should recognise the common duty as well as common interest which unites them with their greatest Colony, as compared with the United States, and should share in the efforts which Canada is making in fulfilment of her portion of the Imperial task of colonising the world? Let this be once recognised as the manifest duty of England, and the day is not far distant when the development of the resources of the Great North-West will yield an abundant return for all the labour expended, and the future of the Dominion of Canada be a proud testimony to the wisdom and energy as well of the Mother Country as of the Colony, beneficial alike to both.

In these remarks I do not wish to be understood as advocating any legislative interference with the free choice by any emigrant of his future home. But I contend that the moral influence of the people of this country should be exerted in directing the tide of emigration towards their own widely-extended Colonial possessions; and if, as I firmly believe, public assistance must be given in some form to relieve the existing congestion of population in many districts, especially in Ireland, then I have no hesitation in asserting that it should be confined to the Colonies exclusively.

I have, in the foregoing remarks, endeavoured to place before you the present position and resources of Canada, and the extent to which, through a wise policy, they can be made to exercise an early and beneficial influence on the fortunes of the Mother Country. Permit me now, in conclusion, to attempt a summing up of the whole subject. The past is beyond our reach, but the present is our own; and as we wisely or ignorantly deal with the circumstances that surround us now, so will inevitably be the future our own action will have created.

Canada, to-day, presents herself before you with an enterprising and intelligent population of four millions, enjoying the fullest

measure of civil and religious liberty, guaranteed by her connection with the British Empire, and rejoicing in her allegiance to the best Constitutional Sovereign who has ever reigned. She controls and shapes the fortunes of a boundless extent of territory: the future grand wheat-field of the world. She is now making these vast regions open to civilised man by immense works of inland navigation, and by the construction of a complete railway system, to reach from the Atlantic to the Pacific. To these objects she is devoting all the husbanded resources of her past efforts; and, entering upon her task with untarnished credit, and conscious of her own strength, she has full assurance of success. But in no spirit of selfish aggrandisement do her people address themselves to their work—they recognise most fully that the bounties they enjoy constitute a sacred trust, to be administered for the good of others as well as of themselves. They say to the struggling industrious millions of their fellow subjects here, crippled and over-burdened by causes which can never be removed, "Come, and freely share all we have. Free farms await you in the far extending prairies of the West—leave behind you the cares and troubles of the past, and accept the reward of honest labour, a happy, contented home, free from anxiety for the children growing up around you. Come to a land where taxation is unknown, except for the development and benefit of yourselves. Enter upon a new career, where you will feel that all the progress you yourselves are making reacts in good to those you have left behind, reducing the competition of labour in Britain, and at the same time increasing the markets for its products."

Nor does Canada confine her invitation to the United Kingdom; her country is wide enough to form a refuge equally for the millions of Continental Europe, who wait with almost hopeless despair for some escape from the painful penury in which they now exist. To all such Canada tenders her aid, and offers them an equal interest in her career of progress. It is true that millions of British subjects have in the past unfortunately renounced their allegiance and gone to swell the power of another nation, but Canada hopes to repair this error, by attracting to her shores the hardy Scandinavian and honest German, and thus soon to give to our beloved Queen, as Canadians, a full equivalent for the subjects she has lost.

Canada is now doing her part in the effort to colonise British North America, and it rests with the Government and people of England to do theirs. Steady co-operation will not only secure an early and successful result, but will draw still more closely the ties of mutual affection and interest, perpetuating that sympathy of feeling which is the surest and most lasting bond of union. I will not permit myself to doubt that the public mind will soon be thoroughly awakened to the importance of the new era which is opening in the North-West prairies of the Dominion, not only for

Canada, but for England, and to the vast development that will be thus given to the power and resources of the Empire; and I confidently believe we shall soon see a thorough and systematic plan for removing from the over-crowded fields of labour in Great Britain and Ireland those tens of thousands of honest sons of toil, whose labour alone is wanted to fulfil the most sanguine aspirations of Canada.

I know not what fate may, in distant years, be reserved for my country, but of this I am well assured, that a people capable of calmly and resolutely devoting their entire energies to such a high and noble work as the colonisation of British North America, with its attendant blessings to the suffering poor of Europe, cannot fail to achieve a destiny which will make "The Future of the Dominion of Canada" worthy of the great nation from which it has sprung.

